

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6634

INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

AMEMBASSY MANILA

AMEMBASSY PHNOM PENH

AMEMBASSY RANGOON

AMEMBASSY SAIGON

AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON

USMISSION USUN NY

CINCPAC CAMP SMITH HAWAII

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 11633

EXDIS

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, JA, CB

SUBJ: GOJ PROPOSES MULTINATIONAL APPEAL FOR PEACE IN CAMBODIA

SUMMARY: GOJ HAS INITIATED PROPOSAL FOR APPEAL BY ASIAN NATIONS ASKING THAT CONTENDING PARTIES IN CAMBODIA DESIST FROM FORCE AND SEEK POLITICAL ACCOMMODATION. INITIAL SOUNDINGS INDICATE ENTHUSIASM IN THAILAND AND AUSTRALIA; POSITIVE RESPONSE IN MALAYSIA AND NEW ZEALAND; SOME DIFFICULTIES IN OTHER ASEAN NATIONS. GOJ HAS ASKED FOR USG REACTION. END SUMMARY.

1. FONOFF (FIRST SEASIAN DIV HEAD HANABUSA) CALLED IN EMBOFF SEPT 10 TO INFORM US OF GOJ INITIATIVE PROPOSING MULTINATIONAL APPEAL FOR PEACE IN CAMBODIA. FONOFF MADE INITIAL SOUNDINGS TWO AND HALF WEEKS AGO AND, AWARE THAT KNOWLEDGE OF INITIATIVE WAS GETTING AROUND (BRITISH DCM HAD IN FACT MENTIONED IT TO CONFIDENTIAL

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DCM), WISHED TO ADVISE USG OF PRELIMINARY RESULTS AND SEEK OUR REACTION. FONOFF HAS ALSO INSTRUCTED JAPANESE EMBASSY WASHINGTON TO DISCUSS PROPOSAL WITH DEPARTMENT.

2. BY WAY OF BACKGROUND, HANABUSA SAID FONOFF HAS BEEN CONCERNED THAT INDO-CHINA SITUATION REMAINS PRECARIOUS DESPITE PARIS AGREEMENTS AND SUBSEQUENT EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE PEACE. HE CITED CONTINUING LEVEL OF MILITARY INCIDENTS IN SVN, FACT THAT SETTLEMENT STILL NOT REACHED IN LAOS, AND ABOVE ALL DETERIORATING MILITARY SITUATION IN KHMER. RECENT VISIT TO TOKYO BY EMISSARY OF LON NOL ASKING FOR HELP FROM JAPAN (INTER ALIA) PROMPTED FONOFF TO CONSIDER WAYS IN WHICH USG EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE PEACE MIGHT BE SUPPLEMENTED.

3. TIMING -- FONOFF SAW SEVERAL FACTORS WHICH IN THEIR VIEW MADE THIS APPROPRIATE MOMENT TO ACT. IF ASIAN NATIONS WITH NO IMMEDIATE STAKE IN INDO-CHINA (JAPAN, AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND) WERE TO JOIN WITH CAMBODIA'S ASIAN NEIGHBORS (THAILAND, MALAYSIA, INDONESIA, BURMA, SINGAPORE, PHILIPPINES) IN JOINT APPEAL, THIS MIGHT OFFSET ANTICIPATED SUPPORT FOR KHMER ROUGE AND SIHANOUK AT NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE IN ALGIERS. IN ADDITION, APPEAL COULD INFLUENCE FORTHCOMING UNGA. FINALLY, FONOFF THOUGHT MILITARY STALEMATE MAY BE DEVELOPING IN CAMBODIA, IN WHICH CASE BOTH SIDES MIGHT BE RECEPTIVE TO APPEAL FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT FROM THEIR ASIAN NEIGHBORS.

4. FORMAT -- HANABUSA POINTED OUT THAT BECAUSE GOJ HAS DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH PHNOM PENH, ANY APPEAL IN ORDER TO SUCCEED MUST SEEK WIDER CONSENSUS AND BE FRAMED IN NEUTRAL TERMS. FONOFF THEREFORE CONCLUDED THAT IDEAL COMBINATION WOULD LINK ASEAN STATES PLUS BURMA WITH JAPAN, AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND. SOUTH VIETNAM AND LAOS WERE EXCLUDED ON GROUNDS THAT THEY ARE TOO INTIMATELY BOUND UP WITH PROBLEM TO BE HELPFUL IN THIS PARTICULAR SOLUTION. AT SAME TIME, FONOFF THOUGHT JAPAN'S OWN ROLE SHOULD BE MINIMAL GIVEN QTE DELICATE FEELINGS UNQTE OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS TOWARD JAPAN, AND FACT THAT SOUTHEAST ASIANS ARE MOST DIRECTLY CONCERNED.

5. FORM AND SUBSTANCE -- FONOFF CONCEPT IS THAT GROUP SHOULD EXPRESS COLLECTIVE HOPE THAT CAMBODIAN PROBLEM WOULD BE SETTLED BY DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS AMONG CAMBODIAN PARTIES AND WITHOUT CONFIDENTIAL

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INTERFERENCE BY OUTSIDE FORCES, WHICH WOULD HOWEVER BE ASKED TO QTE ASSIST IN SETTLEMENT UNQTE. THOUGH FONOFF HAS NO FIRM VIEWS ON MODALITIES, IT IS CONSIDERING MEETING AT AMBASSADORIAL LEVEL WHICH WOULD FORMULATE PUBLIC DECLARATION TO BE ISSUED BY PARTICIPATING NATIONS EITHER JOINTLY OR INDIVIDUALLY, IF LATTER CASE, THEN BY UNIFORM TEXT AND SIMULTANEOUS ANNOUNCEMENT. DECLARATION WOULD ALSO BE TRANSMITTED TO US, USSR, PRC AND DRV. HANABUSA COULD NOT SPELL OUT WHAT ELEMENTS OF DECLARATION MIGHT BE, BUT MENTIONED THAT CONTENDING PARTIES WOULD BE ASKED TO ESCHEW MILITARY SETTLEMENT AND WORK TOWARD POLITICAL CONSENSUS.

6. SOUNDINGS -- HANABUSA SAID FONOFF MADE FIRST SOUNDING WITH

THAI (BY JAPANESE AMBASSADOR IN BANGKOK) ON AUG 24, AND SHORTLY THEREAFTER BROACHED SUBJECT WITH INDONESIA AND MALAYSIA (LATTER TWO HAVING JOINED WITH JAPAN IN PEACE-SEEKING EFFORTS INITIATED BY 1970 JAKARTA CONFERENCE). THAI RESPONSE WAS VERY POSITIVE. MALAYSIANS WERE FAIRLY POSITIVE BUT WANTED TO HEAR REACTIONS OF OTHERS. INDONESIA CONSIDERED IDEA QTE NOT TOO BAD UNQTE BUT WERE DUBIOUS ABOUT TIMING AND SEEMED TO HAVE UNSPECIFIED POLITICAL RESERVATIONS. AT THIS POINT FONMIN MALIK AND OTHERS LEFT FOR ALGIERS AND GOJ SUSPENDED ACTIVITY. HOWEVER, THAI WITHOUT ASKING GOJ (HANABUSA HASTENED TO ADD THAT GOJ HAD NO OBJECTION) MADE SOUNDINGS OF ALL SEVEN NATIONS CONSIDERED POTENTIAL PARTICIPANTS. AUSTRALIAN REACTION WAS VERY POSITIVE (HANABUSA UNDERSTANDS GOA SUPPORT HAS APPROVAL OF PRIMIN WHITLAM) AND THEY ALSO SET OFF ON OWN TO SOUND OUT OTHERS, WITH FOLLOWING RESULTS. NEW ZEALAND IS FAVORABLE BUT AWAITS OTHER REACTIONS. ROMULO OF PHILIPPINES, ACCORDING TO AUSTRALIANS, WAS NOT ENTHUSIASTIC BUT REFERRED QUESTION TO FONOFF. SINGAPORE WONDERED IF TIMING WAS RIGHT, AND ALSO WANTED INDIA AND SRI LANKA INCLUDED. (IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION, HANABUSA SAID FONOFF DID NOT OPPOSE INCLUSION OF INDIA AND SRI LANKA BUT WONDERED IN THAT CASE IF IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO EXCLUDE SUCH NATIONS AS PAKISTAN AND NEPAL). REACTION OF BURMA WAS NOT CLEAR, BUT THAI ARE KEEPING IN TOUCH WITH THEM. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION, HANABUSA SAID GOJ HAS NOT CONSULTED PHNOM PENH AND TO FONOFF'S KNOWLEDGE NEITHER HAVE THAI OR AUSTRALIANS.

7. STATE OF PLAY -- FONOFF BELIEVES KEY TO SUCCESS OR FAILURE
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OF PROPOSAL IS INDONESIAN VIEW. INITIALLY MALIK HAD RESERVATIONS COMPOUNDED BY DIFFICULTIES HE WOULD BE FACING IN ALGIERS. JAPANESE ARE PROMTING THAI TO RAISE SUBJECT WITH HIM AGAIN WHEN HE RETURNS TO JAKARTA. THAI AMBASSADOR TO US AND UN DURING CALL ON AMB OGISO IN NEW YORK SAID HE WOULD RECOMMEND TO HIS GOVT THAT PRESENCE OF SEASIAN FONMINS AT UNGA WOULD PROVIDE IDEAL OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS MATTER FURTHER. FINALLY, FONOFF IS INSTRUCTING ITS AMBASSADOR IN BANGKOK TO CONTINUE DISCUSSIONS WITH THAI. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION, HANABUSA SAID GOJ IS NOT DISCUSSING THIS PROPOSAL WITH USSR, PRC OR DRV.

8. ACTION REQUESTED: HANABUSA SAID HE WAS ACTING UNDER INSTRUCTIONS TO DESCRIBE PROPOSAL AND CURRENT ACTIONS IN DETAIL BECAUSE GOJ WISHES TO HAVE USG VIEWS, INCLUDING WHAT WE THINK PRC REACTION TO PROPOSAL WOULD BE. AT CONCLUSION OF CONVERSATION HE STRESSED, AS HE HAD EARLIER, THAT GOJ INTENTION IS TO COMPLEMENT AND SUPPORT USG EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE PEACE.
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